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TYRUS REDIVIVA

BY

EDWARD T. NEWELL

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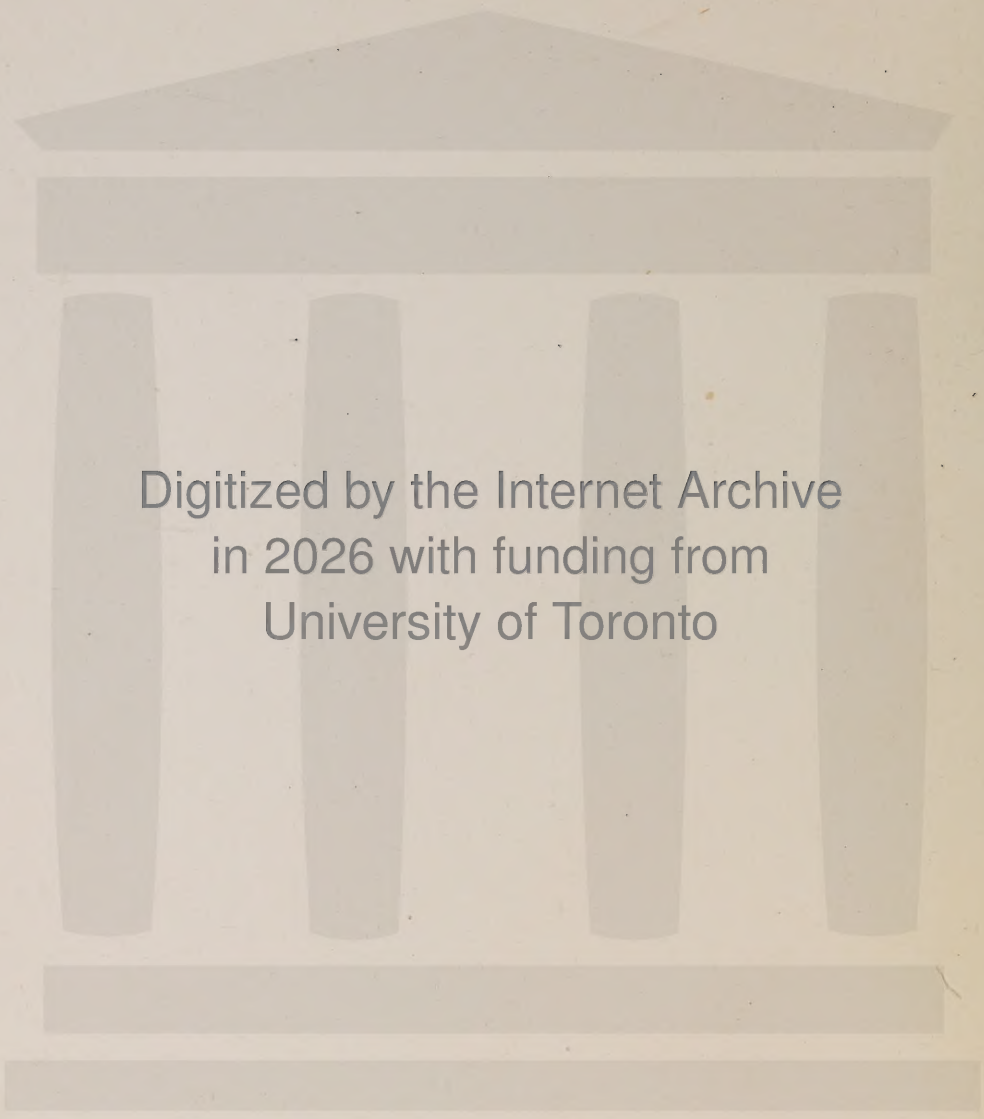
THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
NEW YORK
1923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TYRUS REDIVIVA

When the great city of Tyre finally succumbed, after a brave and obstinate defense, to Alexander and his armies in the month of July, 332 B. C., there came to a sudden end a mint which had been in constant operation for upwards of a hundred and fifty years.

Most of the city's inhabitants either had perished in the siege and final assault or were sold into slavery. The site, however, remained of such strategic importance and was so admirably constituted by nature for defense, that Alexander erected here a strong fortress and recolonized with Carians the ruins of the old city. He did not, however, grant the new settlement and its fortress the privilege of a mint. This important function was carried on by the old mint at Sidon and, very actively, by the new mint established by Alexander himself during the siege of Tyre at the populous city of Ake, or Accho, to the south.[1] For a period of upwards of a generation these two mints continued to coin in considerable quantities, while the city of Tyre was gradually recovering from the disaster of 332 B. C. and slowly regaining its former commercial importance and prosperity. During this period an active local trade must have sprung up between the inhabitants of the city, those of the mainland, and the large garrisons maintained in the fortress by Alexander and his successors. Evidence of this exists in the copper coins which as early as the year 321 B. C. had to be struck at Ake for use in Tyre.[2] These coins, while bearing the letters TY, initials of the name of Tyre, were certainly struck at Ake, as proved by their style, the name of that mint in Phoenician letters עך, and the accompanying date — regnal year of the local dynast. Similar coins exist also of a slightly varied style and without date.[3] The important point of all this for us lies in the incontrovertible evidence these copper coins present that, at least as late as the year 321–320 B. C., no mint had as yet been re-established at Tyre. For evidently the coins intended to meet the needs of petty transactions in her bazaars had still to be coined elsewhere. Furthermore, there are not known to exist any gold or silver issues bearing Alexandrine types which can, with any probability whatsoever, be assigned [4] to a supposititious Tyrian mint at this period.

[1] Newell, "The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake", *passim*.

[2] Newell, *loc. cit.*, p. 60.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, p. 46, No. 26.

[4] The tetradrachm assigned by Müller to Tyre (his No. 1423) seems almost certainly to belong to some other mint.

Apparently the state of affairs as outlined in the preceding paragraph continued for another twelve years or so. Then eventually a mint was re-opened at Tyre, never to be closed again until the reign of the Roman emperor Gallienus, more than half a millenium later. The newly opened mint either succeeded or gradually eclipsed the mints of its two rivals, Sidon and Accho (Ake), whose Alexandrine issues ceased in the years 306–304 B. C.[1] In their stead, Tyre commenced to strike a numerous series of Alexandrine gold staters and silver tetradrachms, which were further accompanied by a dated series of didrachms bearing local types. These continued to appear for some twenty-three years, covering the last years of Antigonus' reign as well as the ensuing reign of his son Demetrius Poliorcetes. When Ptolemy Soter had finally succeeded in securing Tyre, he immediately saw to it that the city conformed its issues, in both types and weight, to the coinage of the rest of his dominions. At this point Svoronos [2] takes up the story.

Considering first the Alexandrine coinage issued by Tyre under Antigonus and Demetrius, the following thirty-three varieties of staters, tetradrachms, and drachms have been arranged almost entirely from the standpoint of the sequence of dies. For purposes of distinction the obverse dies of the gold staters have been given Roman capital letters, the reverses small Greek letters. The obverse dies of the tetradrachms are distinguished by Roman, the reverses by Arabic numerals.

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 37.

[2] Τὰ Νομίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων, Nos. 626 ff.

SERIES I, circa 306–301 B. C.

1 STATER (Müller No. 1588).

Head of Athene to r. in crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a double-coiled serpent.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Winged Nike standing and holding wreath in outstretched r., stylis in l. In field to l., ⊛; in field to r., ⊛.

A — *a* London ↑ (Lang) gr. 8.61, **Plate I**, 1; Berlin ↑ gr. 8.64; H. A. Greene ↑; Paris (No. 427) ↓.

A — *β* Berlin ↑.

2 TETRADRACHM (Müller No. 1589).

Head of young Herakles to r. in lion's skin. Circle of dots.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Zeus, himation over lower limbs, seated on high-backed throne to l. He holds an eagle in his outstretched r. and rests l. on sceptre. In field, ⊛; beneath throne, ⊛.

I — *1* Newell ↓ gr. 17.12, **Plate I**, 2; Berlin ↑ gr. 17.00; Petrograd; Athens.

2 Newell ↑ gr. 17.14.

3 Newell ↑ gr. 17.18; Newell ↓ gr. 17.07; Athens.[1]

4 Berlin ↑ gr. 17.13.

5 R. Storrs ↑.

3 STATER (Müller No. 1593).

The same die as No. 1. This die is commencing to show signs of wear.

Similar to No. 1, but ⊛ in l. field, and ⊛ behind the Nike figure.

A — *γ* London ↓ (Lang), **Plate I**, 3; Newell ↑ gr. 8.60; Paris →; Berlin ↑ (Gen. Fox from Lang); Sir H. Weber ← gr. 8.62; Cambridge (McClean) gr. 8.58; H. A. Greene; P. Saroglos.

4 TETRADRACHM (Müller No. 1592).

All but one specimen from the same die as No. 2. This die now shows signs of wear and a crack extending from bridge of the nose to the dotted circle.

Similar to No. 2 but with ⊛ in field, and ⊛ beneath the throne.

I — *6* Berlin ↑ **Plate I**, 4.

7 R. Storrs; P. Saroglos.

8 Athens.

II — *8* The Hague.

[1] The Athens and the first Newell specimen show a bad break commencing in the lower portion of the reverse die (No. 3). On the second Newell specimen this break has been mended, but in so doing the monogram beneath the throne has become almost entirely obliterated.

5 DRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding, and with the same monograms.

Naples (St. Angelo) **Plate I**, 5 ; Constantinople (from the same obverse and reverse dies as the Naples specimen).

6 STATER.

From the same die as Nos. 1 and 3. Die shows increasing signs of wear. Similar to Nos. 1 and 3. In front of Nike, Ⓜ and Ⓐ.

A — δ London ↑ (Lang) gr. 8.60, **Plate I**, 6 ; Berlin ↓.

7 STATER (Müller No. 1594).

A new die, with smaller head but details similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding with Ⓜ and Ⓐ in front of Nike and Δ behind Nike.

B — ε Berlin ↑ **Plate I**, 7 ; P. Saroglos.

8 STATER.

Similar to No. 6. Similar to the preceding. In l. field, Ⓜ, in field behind Nike, ⊗.

C — ϛ Petrograd, **Plate I**, 8.

9 TETRADRACHM (Müller No. 1597).

Similar to No. 4. Similar to No. 4. In field, Ⓜ, beneath throne, ⊗.

II — *9* Cambridge (Fitzwilliam) gr. 16.94, **Plate I**, 9 ; Berlin ↑ gr. 16.72.

10 TETRADRACHM (Müller Nos. 1595 and 1596).

Similar to the preceding. Die II shows signs of wear. Similar to the preceding. In field, Ⓜ, beneath throne, Ⓜ or Ⓜ.

II — *10* Newell ↓ gr. 17.05, **Plate I**, 10.
11 Vienna.
III — *10* London ↓.
12 Munich ↑, **Plate I**, 11.

11 TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In field, Ⓐ, beneath the throne, Ⓝ or Ⓝ.

III — *13* Newell ↑ gr. 16.90, **Plate I**, 12; London ↓ (recent acquisition) gr. 16.94.
14 Petrograd ↓, **Plate I**, 13.

12 TETRADRACHM.

From the same obverse die as the preceding. Large cracks are now visible. Similar to the preceding. In field, CLUB IN CIRCLE. Beneath throne, Ⓝ.

III — *15* Newell ↑ gr. 17.18, **Plate I**, 14 ; Newell ↑ gr. 17.17 ; Amer. Numismatic Society ↘ gr. 17.13.
16 Berlin ↑ gr. 16.90.

13 TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In field, Ⓜ (?). Beneath the throne, ⊗.

IV — *17* Petrograd, **Plate I**, 15.

SERIES II, circa 301–290 B. C.

14 TETRADRACHM (Müller No. 1591, probably also No. 1590).

Head of young Herakles to r. in lion's skin. Circle of dots. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in exergue. Zeus seated on high-backed throne to l. He holds an eagle in outstretched r. and rests l. on sceptre. In field, Ⓜ, beneath throne, Ⓐ.

V — *18* London ↑, **Plate II**, 1.

15 STATER.

Head of Athene to r. in crested Corinthian helmet adorned with a single-coil serpent. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Winged Nike standing and holding wreath in outstretched r. and stylis in l. In front, Ⓐ, behind, Ⓚ.

D — *ζ* Newell ↓ gr. 8.59, **Plate II**, 2; Berlin ↓ gr. 8.58; Commerce.
η Municipal Museum, Lyon. gr. 8.54.

16 TETRADRACHM.

Similar to No. 14. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in exergue. Similar in style and details to No. 14. In field, Ⓐ, beneath throne, Ⓐ or Ⓘ.

VI — *19* Newell ↘ gr. 17.00, **Plate II**, 3.
20 London ↖ gr. 16.71; Berlin ↑.

17 STATER (Müller No. 1601).

Same die as No. 15. Similar to No. 15. In front of Nike, Ⓝ, behind Nike, Ⓜ or Ⓜ.

D — *θ* London, three specimens: ↑ gr. 8.60, ↓ gr. 8.57, (Lang) ↑ gr. 8.62, **Plate II**, 4; Paris ↑; Berlin ↓ gr. 8.58.
ι Berlin ↑.
κ Paris.[1]

18 TETRADRACHM (Müller No. 1600).

Similar to No. 16. Die VI is now showing signs of wear. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in exergue. Similar to No. 16. In field, Ⓝ, beneath throne, Ⓜ.

VI — *21* Munich ↑.
VII — *22* Berlin, **Plate II**, 5.

[1] This specimen, as well as that enumerated under *θ*, proves that Müller is mistaken (No. 1601) in placing the second monogram in front of, instead of behind, the figure of Nike. His description is based on this Paris specimen.

19 STATER (Müller No. 1585).

Same as No. 17, die showing signs of wear.

Similar to No. 17. In front of Nike, Ⓜ, behind Nike, Ⓐ.

D — λ Paris[1] ↑, **Plate II**, 6; Berlin ↓ gr. 8.60.

20 TETRADRACHM (var. Müller No. 1584).

Same as No. 18, but both dies now showing signs of wear.

Similar to No. 18. In field, Ⓜ, beneath throne, Ⓐ.

VI — *23* Berlin ↑, **Plate II**, 7.
24 London ↑; Newell ↘ gr. 16.98.
VII — *24* Berlin ↑, **Plate II**, 8.
25 Newell ↓ gr. 17.04.

21 TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to No. 20, but henceforth without the BAΣIΛEΩΣ. In field, Ⓜ, beneath throne, Ⓐ.

VIII — *26* Yakountchikof, gr. 16.53, **Plate II**, 9.

22 STATER (Müller No. 1586).

Same as No. 19.

Similar to No. 19. In front of Nike, Ⓐ, behind Nike, Ⓐ. On die μ this monogram has more the form, Ⓗ.

D — μ Newell ↑ gr. 8.59, **Plate II**, 10; Newell ↑ gr. 8.33 (edge has been filed); Berlin ↓ gr. 8.55; London ↑ (Lang) gr. 8.64; London ↑ gr. 8.58. Two specimens, both ↑, in commerce.
ν[2] Berlin ↑ gr. 8.61; Petrograd ↑; C. S. Bement, **Plate II**, 11; Commerce.

23 TETRADRACHM (Müller No. 143).

Head of young Herakles to r. as on the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In field, CLUB IN CIRCLE, beneath throne, Ⓐ.

IX — *27* Munich ↓, **Plate II**, 12.

24 STATER.

Head of Athene to r. in crested Corinthian helmet.

Similar to No. 22. In front, CLUB IN CIRCLE, behind Nike, Ⓜ.

E — ξ Petrograd, **Plate II**, 13.

[1] Here again Müller (his No. 1585) is mistaken in placing the second monogram in front of, instead of behind, the Nike figure. His description is based on this Paris specimen.

[2] Die *ν* is the same die as λ, but with the monogram in field re-engraved.

25 TETRADRACHM.

Same as No. 23.

Similar to No. 23. In field, CLUB IN CIRCLE, beneath throne, ⓂⒽ. On dies *32* and *33* the club is to r.

IX — *28* London ↑, **Plate II**, 14; Berlin ↑; Athens ↗ gr. 16.85.
29 Alexandria ↓.
30 Newell ↓ gr. 17.11, **Plate II**, 15.
31 Vienna.
32 Milan ↑.
33 Berlin ↓ gr. 17.05.
X — *32* Newell ↓ gr. 15.90 (cleaned and filed), **Plate II**, 16.

26 TETRADRACHM.

Same as the preceding. The crack on the obverse is now larger.

Similar to the preceding. In field, CLUB IN CIRCLE, beneath throne, ⓂⒽ.

IX — *34* Hartford ↑, **Plate II**, 17.

27 TETRADRACHM.

Similar to the preceding.

Similar to the preceding. In field, CLUB IN CIRCLE and DOLPHIN.

XI — *35* Boston.
36 Vienna, **Plate II**, 18.

SERIES III, circa 290–287 B. C.

28 TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ on r. Zeus enthroned as on the preceding. In field, CLUB and E.

XI — *37a* Newell ↓ gr. 16.95, **Plate III**, 1.

29 TETRADRACHM.

From the same die, which now shows increasing signs of wear.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (on die *37b* this name is re-engraved over the preceding ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ). Same as the preceding. In field, CLUB and E.

XI — *37b* Paris ↑ gr. 16.85, **Plate III**, 2.
38 London ↑, **Plate III**, 3.

30 TETRADRACHM.

From the same die, which is now in a very worn state.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r. Similar to the preceding. In field, Ⓜ over CLUB to l.

XI — *39* Berlin, **Plate III**, 4.

31 TETRADRACHM.

Similar. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in exergue. In field, CLUB IN CIRCLE, beneath throne, Ⓐ.

XI — *40* Kaftanzoglou Coll., **Plate III**, 5.
XII — *41* Berlin, **Plate III**, 6.

32 TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In field, CLUB IN CIRCLE, beneath throne, A.

XII — *42* Newell ↑ gr. 1686, **Plate III**, 7.

33 TETRADRACHM.

From the same die as the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In field, DOLPHIN IN CIRCLE, beneath throne, A.

XII — *43* Newell ↓ gr. 16.70, **Plate III**, 8.

FIRST ISSUES UNDER PTOLEMAIC RULE

After circa 286 B. C.

34 PHOENICIAN TETRADRACHM (not in Svoronos).

Diademed head of Ptolemy Soter to r. Circle of dots. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ on l. Eagle standing to l. on thunderbolt. In field, DOLPHIN to l.

Newell ↑ gr. 14.17, **Plate III**, 9.

35 PHOENICIAN TETRADRACHM (Svoronos No. 626).

Similar to the preceding. Similar to the preceding. In field, CLUB.

Newell ↑ gr. 14.16, **Plate III**, 10. For other specimens see Svoronos, vol. II, p. 94, No. 626.

SERIES I.

The first series consists of five varieties of the Alexander stater and seven accompanying varieties of the tetradrachm, and one drachm. Three obverse dies (A, B, C) and six reverse dies (*α–ϝ*) were used in the production of the staters, while six obverse (I–VI) and seventeen reverse (*1–17*) dies were necessary for the production of the tetradrachms. The drachm appears to be very rare (it is known in two specimens only) and was produced from a single pair of dies.

It is obvious that the coins here described were struck in Tyre. Both style and fabric — as well as the usual *provenance* of single specimens —

point to Syria or Phoenicia as their original home. The specimens earliest in date have the closest stylistic affinity to the last Alexandrine issues of Sidon. The only symbols which we find used are the club (Nos. 12, 23 to 32 inclusive) and dolphin (Nos. 27, 33), both so intimately associated with Tyre. As that city had by this time once more grown to be the foremost on the Phoenician coast, it is difficult to believe that it would long remain without a mint. Especially is this the case when we remember that the mints of Sidon and Ake ceased to function just about this time, thus, apparently, leaving only Tyre to issue money in all this district. How important this point is will be grasped when we stop to consider that under Ptolemy Soter and the first few years of Philadelphus' rule it was *only* Tyre, of all their Phoenician possessions, which was allowed to strike coins. Furthermore, we will find this corroborated by the interesting and important fact that the first coins struck here by Ptolemy are identical with the last ones struck by Demetrius in style, in fabric, and in the symbols (dolphin or club) which they bear. Finally, before we close this study, we shall also have occasion to notice the very close connection between our Alexandrine issues and the series of dated Attic didrachms which, because they bear that city's long-recognized local types, were certainly struck at Tyre.

The re-opening of the mint of Tyre may be set at about the year 307–306 B. C., as shown by the following considerations. The style of the obverse and reverse dies of these Tyrian tetradrachms is obviously influenced by the Sidonian issues appearing throughout the final six or seven years of that mint's activities.[1] Our reverses are in style, appearance, and details almost identical with those of Sidon. Were it not for the monograms and the back to the throne on the Tyrian issues, the two series would be almost indistinguishable. In fact, one is tempted to recognize the handiwork of the same engravers on the two issues. The obverse die A of the Tyrian gold staters, Nos. 1, 3, and 6, is modeled on that of the Sidonian issues of the year Σ (Oct. 316–Oct. 315 B. C.). Even the unusual detail of the double coil to the serpent ornament on Athene's helmet is reproduced.[2] On the other hand, Nike has the straight left leg of the same figure on the Sidonian gold coinage for the year ψ (Oct. 311–Oct. 310 B. C.)[3]. It is, however, very difficult to believe that the Tyrian issues actually commenced as early as this parallelism would seem to indicate. In the first place, none of the earlier Alexander hoards (Kyparissia, Demanhur, Saïda, all in the ground by 318 B. C. at the latest) contained any of the specimens which we are now

[1] Compare the coins on Plate I with the Sidonian tetradrachms on Plates IV and V of the author's "The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake."

[2] Compare the staters, Plate I, Nos. 2, 4, 6 with Newell, *loc. cit.*, Plate IV, 3.

[3] Compare the reverses of Plate I, Nos. 2, 4, 6 with Newell, *loc. cit.*, Plate IV, 17.

studying. There were also none in a recent Egyptian find[1] whose latest known dated coin was a tetradrachm of Ake, in mint condition, bearing the date 36—or Oct. 311–Oct. 310 B. C. Similarly, there were none in the Kuft hoard (belonging to the late Dr. S. Davidson, and now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) which contained Sidonian issues down to, and including, the year X (Oct. 312–Oct. 311 B. C.) and Ake issues down to, and including, the year 37 (Oct. 311–Oct. 310 B. C.). Finally, there were also none in the great Aleppo hoard. The Aleppo hoard chances to be preserved to us in two portions, the one in Vienna[1a] containing about 270 specimens (all varieties), and the other, numbering some 800 coins, which now reposes in the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople.[2] This great hoard contained all varieties of the Ake tetradrachm up to, and including, the year 10 (Oct. 307–Oct. 306 B. C.) and most of the Sidonian tetradrachms up to and including the year M B (Oct. 308–Oct. 307 B. C.). Since the hoard gives us no coins bearing the name of Seleucus,[3] it must have been buried not long after the last date borne by these Ake tetradrachms. As the hoard was a large one, with a considerable proportion of Syrian and Phoenician issues, and was buried in Syria, it is doubly significant that it should have contained not a single representative of the earliest Alexandrine issues of Tyre. Our mint could not have been in operation, therefore, much before 307–306 B. C., if as early as that.

On the other hand, we possess a hoard of a slightly later date (Lang's Larnaca Find), in which the earlier gold staters of our mint were strongly represented—all in brilliant state of preservation. Data on this important hoard is furnished us by the few varieties Lang himself published,[4] by the many specimens which entered the trays of the British Museum from Lang's collection, by numerous specimens in the Fox Cabinet (now in the Berlin collection and ticketed by their former owner as having come from Lang's 1870 Find), and, finally, by a lot of nineteen Alexander staters sold at Sotheby's, June 17, 1913, which in the catalogue are stated to have been "Found at Nikosia, Cyprus, 1870." In the last instance, as both the date and the varieties enumerated tally exactly with what we know of Lang's

[1] Recently ascertained to have come from Mansoura. [1a] Mentioned by the writer, *loc. cit.*, p. 58.

[2] These coins were catalogued and arranged in the summer of 1918 by Dr. Kurt Regling, and named by him "Fund aus Antiochien." The contents of the two hoards are identical, and from indications furnished the writer by Halil Bey, Director of the Museum, it is practically certain that the Vienna and the Constantinople lots come from one and the same hoard unearthed about 1892. Whether it was actually found at Aleppo or at Antioch, or in the neighborhood of one or the other of these two cities, is hardly vital, and is furthermore practically impossible to determine at this late date.

[3] Seleucus probably first commenced to issue coins of the old Alexandrine types but bearing his own name, in the year 306–305 B.C.

[4] *Num. Chron.*, N. S. XI, 1871, pp. 229–234.

hoard, it is probable that one and the same find is meant. In this Sotheby lot, of the nineteen Alexanders described, no less than eleven are of our Tyrian varieties.

The contents of Lang's hoard, taken as a whole, indicate clearly that it must have been buried at a somewhat later date than the Aleppo hoard. On the other hand, like the Aleppo hoard, it, too, contained no coins struck in the names of Seleucus, Lysimachus, or Demetrius. Therefore, we cannot place it too late. A date lying somewhere between the years 300 and 295 B. C.[1] would seem to be justified. For although Lysimachus[2] and Seleucus commenced coining staters bearing their own names somewhat before this time, Antigonus and his son Demetrius were at war with both of these sovereigns, and the island of Cyprus was far removed from their mints. In all probability, considering the conditions prevalent at this period, it would have required some time for specimens of their issues to find their way to Cyprus. Of Demetrius' Alexandrine coinages bearing his name, only two or three varieties were issued previous to 295 B. C., as the writer is showing in a monograph on Demetrius about to be published. These few varieties are excessively rare and therefore they might well have missed being gathered in by the ancient owner of Lang's hoard.

The Epidaurus Hoard,[3] buried at some time between the years 287 and 281 B. C., contained two specimens of No. 2 and one specimen of No. 25. Again, two varieties of our silver tetradrachms (Nos. 9 and 20) were contained in a hoard said to have been unearthed near Salonica in Macedonia.[4] The hoard must have been buried between 287 and 280 B. C., as it contained the latest issues of Demetrius Poliorcetes and Lysimachus in very fine condition. The Kililer (Thessaly) Hoard, also buried about 280 B.C. and now in the Athens collection, contained a specimen of No. 10 in poor condition. Furthermore, specimens of Nos. 2 and 16 turned up in good condition in a hoard said to have been found near Angora. As this hoard contained many varieties of the earlier issues of Seleucus but none of his later ones, and apparently none of the coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes, it was probably buried not long after 300 B. C. Thus, from the weighty evidence of finds,

[1] Possibly the hoard was actually buried during the troublous year 296/5 B. C. when Ptolemy seized the island.

[2] Certain hints furnished by his coins suggest that Lysimachus did not actually place his name upon his coins until about the time of the battle of Ipsus, 301 B. C.

[3] Now in the Athens National Collection. Published by Keramopoulos in the Ἐφήμερις Ἀρχαιολογική, 1903, pp. 98–116.

[4] According to a statement made to the writer by Dr. Walla of Vienna, this hoard came to him from Salonica. It is listed in "Preis-Liste . . . antike griechische, römische and byzantinische Münzen etc." 1897–8, Heft VI under Nos. 55 to 74, Nos. 78 to 162, Nos. 166, 168–180, Nos. 183–189, Nos. 239–268.

supported by indications of style, we may conclude that the Tyrian Alexander series cannot well have appeared before 307 B. C., but that it must have commenced shortly after this date, and that during the following decade its production was in full swing.

SERIES II.

The terminal date of the first series has been somewhat arbitrarily placed at about 301 B. C. The choice of this date is based on two considerations. In the first place, it is difficult to suppose that the small number of dies employed in its production could have lasted over a longer stretch than some six or seven years. In our study of the dated coinages of Sidon and Ake, it may be observed that the average life of an obverse die (both in the gold and in the silver issues) was about two years. In only exceptional cases did an obverse die last into the third year or longer. Again, our second series is distinguished by the appearance of the βασιλεύς title. There seems no apparent explanation of this sudden adoption of the title unless we accept the following very tentative suggestion. After the Empire of Antigonus had "crashed" on the field of Ipsus in 301 B. C., his son Demetrius very soon came to discard some of the old-fashioned notions regarding the coinage which his father seems to have entertained. Under Antigonus no other types than the old Alexander one had been countenanced for the coinage of the realm. But after Demetrius became the sole arbiter of the Kingdom, he introduced his own name on the Alexander coinage and almost immediately followed this by adopting his own types in place of the old. Although it cannot be successfully maintained that Antigonus went so far, during the final years of his reign, as not to allow the appearance of the βασιλεύς title on his Alexander coinages, still its presence after about 310 B. C. seems to be the exception rather than the rule. Judging from what we know of Demetrius' character, he would have had no such scruples. The main reason for placing the end of Series I in 301–300 B. C. is principally based on grounds of style and consideration of dies.

Our entire second series is composed of staters and tetradrachms. Of the staters, we possess two obverse dies (D, E), and nine[1] (ζ–ξ) reverse dies, and of the tetradrachms seven (V–XI) obverse, and nineteen (*18–36*) reverse dies. Many of the obverse dies show obvious signs of long use. This, together with the greater number of tetradrachm dies that have come down to us, leads us to assign a somewhat longer term of years for the duration of this series, *i. e.* from about 300–290 B. C. Although no instance of a die having been carried over from Series I to Series II is found, still the re-

[1] Only eight dies, in fact, for λ and ν are really the same die re-engraved.

appearance of several of the monograms, as well as the symbol of the CLUB IN CIRCLE, is proof enough that we still have to do with the issues of a single mint. The CLUB IN CIRCLE now occurs more frequently, and in one instance (No. 27) is accompanied by a DOLPHIN. Both of these symbols are distinctly Tyrian in character. The club refers directly to Tyrian Heracles as he was conceived by the Greeks, while the dolphin (one of the earliest types found on Tyrian coins) was later a constant companion of the native conception of the god Melkarth.[1]

While the style displayed by the issues of Series I is distinctly good, in many cases very fine, that of Series II rapidly deteriorates. Throughout this period Demetrius was beset by enemies on all sides. In 295, all his Eastern possessions, with the sole exception of Tyre and Sidon, were seized either by Seleucus or by Ptolemy. It was with difficulty that he seems to have maintained his hold on Tyre. Indications of these evil times would seem to be shown clearly by the increasing length of time during which old dies were used, the ever growing poverty of the art and technique displayed in their production, and the increasingly obvious signs of haste and carelessness in the actual striking of the coins themselves. This last point may not seem conclusive on the plates which accompany this article, for only the choicest of the available specimens have been selected for illustration. Many of the other specimens of Nos. 14–27 are struck on flans too small for the dies. Often the dies themselves have not been placed squarely on the blanks, and so portions of the types are missing. This is in contrast to the coins of Series I, where, as a rule, the dies have been carefully placed and the coins neatly and cleanly struck.

SERIES III.

If the previous series was of poor style and flighty workmanship, in these respects, the present one is infinitely worse. Its appearance might well be termed disgraceful were it not for our knowledge that Demetrius' power was at this time tottering to its fall. The two cities of Sidon and Tyre, surrounded by enemies ready to pounce upon them, remained his sole Phoenician possessions. During the final portion of Demetrius' reign the commercial situation in Tyre must have been well-nigh desperate. Surrounded by Ptolemy's forces, cutting it off from the sources of prosperity in the hinterland, its sea routes blocked by Seleucus' possession of the Syrian and Cilician coasts, but especially by Ptolemy's possession of the commanding island of Cyprus, Tyre's trade at this time must have been of an exceedingly precarious nature. No wonder then that its coin issues,

[1] For the dolphin as the principal type on Tyrian coins, see Brit. Mus. Cat. *Phoenicia*, Plate XXVIII, Nos. 9–15. For the dolphin with Melkarth, see Plate XXVIII, Nos. 16, 17, and Plate XXIX, Nos. 1–16.

during the remaining four years of Demetrius' reign, were both scanty and poor in appearance.

One obverse die (XI), already in a very bad state of repair, was carried over from the preceding issue. We may notice that the outlines and details of the Heracles head have become weakened and blurred, while a depression has developed in the field, practically obliterating the line of the nose. The accompanying reverse die (*37a*) still bears the name of Alexander, but a departure has been made in the indication of the marks of control. The usual monogram in a circle beneath the throne is entirely absent, and the circle surrounding the symbol or monogram in the field has been removed. Here we now find only a simple club, and alongside of it the magistrate's initial, E.

While this pair of dies (XI–*37a*) was still in use, the Tyrian mint authorities decided, or were instructed, to substitute the name of Demetrius for that of Alexander. During the time that a new die embodying this change was being cut, it was evidently not found expedient to stop minting operations entirely. So the old die (*37a*) was merely taken, and the name Δημητρίου hastily engraved over the former Ἀλεξάνδρου, the altered die then being put to use again. The coin (No. 28, Plate III, 1) in the writer's collection was struck from this die before the alteration. The specimen in the Paris collection (No. 29, Plate III, 2) was struck *after* the alteration. The original piece has been very carefully scrutinized by the writer, and it is certain that the alteration was actually made in the original *die* (and not perhaps on the coin itself in modern times). The work of re-engraving was so hastily done that even to the naked eye distinct traces of the former Ἀλεξάνδρου letters are still visible beneath those of Δημητρίου. Interestingly enough, in the British Museum collection a coin (Plate III, 3) struck from the same old obverse die is preserved (XI) but with its reverse from the new die which took the place of the temporary die with its altered inscription. Although no less than four other varieties of the Demetrius tetradrachm were struck before Tyre finally went over to Ptolemy, only one more obverse die (XII) is known. This, in style, is the poorest of all. The Heracles head is a mere travesty of some of the fine conceptions appearing in Series I. The Zeus figure on the final three reverse dies (*41*, *42*, *43*) is also exceedingly poor, showing to what depths the art of the Tyrian die engravers had now fallen. The symbol in the field is once more a CLUB IN CIRCLE, except on No. 33 where the Tyrian DOLPHIN takes its place.

At this point, the Alexandrine issues of Tyre abruptly cease. Philokles, King of Sidon and admiral of Demetrius' naval forces in the Phoenician

waters, finally recognized the writing on the wall. With his entire fleet he went over to Ptolemy,[1] and the Phoenician province, apparently without a struggle, fell like a ripe apple into the waiting hands of the astute old Lagid. Ptolemy, naturally, at once suppressed the Attic weight-system and Alexandrine types of his rival, substituting therefor his own types and the so-called Phoenician weight-system which he had finally adopted for the Egyptian coinage. The two earliest specimens of this issue at Tyre are here described (Nos. 34, 35) and reproduced on Plate III, 9 and 10. The first of these is unknown to Svoronos and, in imitation of Demetrius' last issue (No. 33), a DOLPHIN has been placed in the field as symbol. The following series again adopts the CLUB OF HERACLES as the symbol of the Tyrian mint, and this remains henceforth as such throughout the Ptolemaic and Seleucid issues of the next two centuries. The two Ptolemaic coins reproduced on Plate III are particularly interesting because they show that the poor style of the latest Alexandrine issues of Demetrius is directly carried over onto the succeeding coinage of Ptolemy. Evidently, the old die-engravers, after the defection of their city to Egypt, for a time continued to work for their new masters. Their issues thus fill an otherwise obvious gap between the poor work of Demetrius' last issues and the fine style of the coins issued soon after under the Ptolemies (see Svoronos, Plate XIX, No. 2 and ff.)

LOCAL ISSUES.

A study of the mint of Tyre at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third century B. C. would not be complete without also taking into consideration the much-discussed Tyrian didrachms of Attic weight bearing purely local types.[2] These particular coins have formed the subject of numerous studies.[3] While all are in complete accord, insofar as they would assign these coins to a period subsequent to the arrival of Alexander the Great in Phoenicia, they nevertheless differ widely as to the exact date at which these coins probably appeared. Although the coins themselves bear dates expressed in Phoenician numerals, unfortunately, far from clarifying the situation, these have but added a worse confusion, for they can be made to fit almost any one of the many eras known to have been in use at the period during which the coins were being struck.

[1] Tarn, p. 104 ff. and notes.

[2] Rouvier, Nos. 1799–1818; B. M. C., *Phoenicia*, Nos. 25–42; Babelon, *Traité* II, 2, Nos. 1009–1016. Here, Plate III, Nos. 11–15, all in the writer's collection.

[3] Of which the more recent are: Six, *Num. Chron.*, 1877, p. 191; J. Rouvier, *Rev. des Études Grecques*, 1899, pp. 362 ff.; and *Rev. Num.*, 1909, p. 330; R. Dussaud, *Rev. Num.*, 1908, pp. 445 ff.; Babelon, *Traité* II, 2, pp. 622–8; Hill, Brit. Cat. Mus. *Phoenicia*, Introd., pp. cxxix–cxxxi; Svoronos, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. ρπϵ′ ff.

Before hailing any one of the theories thus far advanced as the correct one, or before discarding them all and offering a new suggestion, let us look at the coins themselves and become acquainted with the actual material. These coins have so often been studied and discussed that it will not be necessary for us to draw up, once more, a catalogue of the known varieties. Such a catalogue will be found given in both Rouvier's and Babelon's works, as well as in the catalogue of Phoenician coins in the British Museum. These studies contain all the material at present available, and, so thoroughly has the ground been worked over, it is probable the future can offer but few varieties as yet unknown to us.

As stated above, the coins are Attic didrachms and bear the old Tyrian types. On the obverse is Melkarth riding to r. upon a winged sea horse, depicted as swimming over the waves, below which may be seen a dolphin. On the reverse is the owl bearing the crook and flail — Egyptian symbols of royalty. In the field of the reverse are to be seen various Phoenician letters (צ, מ or ב) and the numerals (| = 1, ⊓ = 10, O = 20) which have caused so much conjecture and discussion among students. The coins fall into three main groups. The earliest in style (A), Plate III, 11, is characterized by the letter צ (probably standing for the mint name צור) accompanied by the three dates ||, |||, or ||||.[1] This is succeeded by a second group (B), Plate III, 12, of which the first issue bears the letter מ (in the place of צ), and the letter ב (probably for the usual formula בשנת) in front of the date |. The remaining issues of this group (B), Plate III, 13, omit the ב and place the מ in front of the dates |, ||, and |||. The final group (C), Plate III, 14–16, obviously later in style than A and B, bears only dates running from 23 to 37.

The first two groups may, for the present, be dismissed by accepting the suggestion frequently put forward[2] that the dates they bear merely represent the regnal years of local dynasts. The crux of the whole matter lies in the question, To what era should we refer the dates 23–37 found on group C? No less than four different eras have been suggested in recent years. The failure of so many competent scholars to arrive at an agreement after so many thorough and able discussions, is probably entirely due to the fact that they were forced to discuss these Tyrian didrachms solely on their own merits. This inevitably led to widely diverse conclusions, almost any one of which could lay claim to a large amount of plausibility. Fortunately, our possession of a continuous series of coins of Alexandrine

[1] There is a specimen, No. 33, in the British Museum, with צ and the higher date 1110 (= 23). This particular specimen, however, is fourée. In other words, it is an ancient forgery and so need not be taken into account.

[2] Among others, Rouvier, *Rev. Num.*, 1909, p. 330.

types, which must be assigned to the mint of Tyre towards the end of the Fourth Century B. C., throws an entirely new light upon the matter. With their assistance we can subject the various eras proposed to the test and perhaps arrive at some really definite conclusion.

For these Tyrian didrachms, Dr. Rouvier [1] follows Six [2] in adopting the era of Alexander the Great in Phoenicia, which took its inception with the battle of Issus in 333 B. C. Mr. Hill has already drawn attention [3] to certain minor defects of this era as applied to the Tyrian didrachms. A really serious difficulty in the way of accepting Rouvier's dating is now raised by the series of Tyrian Alexanders. We have seen how the contents of the Saïda, Demanhur, Kuft, Mansoura and Aleppo hoards agree in proving none of our Alexander coins could have been struck at Tyre before 307–306 B. C. at the earliest. The Angora and Larnaca hoards, on the other hand, show that their issue was in full swing by 300–295 B. C. If now we apply group C to the era of Alexander in Phoenicia, we find that the didrachm dated 23 must have appeared in 310–309 B. C., and the last date known, 37, in 296–5 B. C. This means that not only was this particular series commenced at least two to three years *previous* to the establishment at Tyre of a mint coining Alexander staters and tetradrachms, but it does not take into account groups A and B, which by their style must have preceded group C. On the face of it, then, it does not seem to the writer in the least reasonable to suppose that silver coins of local types were being minted, of all places, at Tyre for some ten years previous to the issue of the then "coin of the realm," namely, coins of Alexandrine types. Throughout this period in the Eastern Mediterranean, at Tarsus, Salamis, Sidon, Ake (to name but a few of the principal mints), Alexandrine coins were being issued in great quantities. From time to time small denominations in silver and bronze with local types had also appeared, but always subordinate to the regular Alexandrine issues. Therefore it seems hardly likely to suppose that Tyre, the strongest fortress of the entire Phoenician coast and commercially rapidly coming into its own again, would have been allowed by Antigonus to strike only coins bearing the old local, Tyrian, types. If there was a mint at all, operating at Tyre before 307 B. C., it must also have been coining the orthodox staters and tetradrachms bearing Alexander's name and types. Finally, the adoption of Dr. Rouvier's theory would bring the close of the didrachm series, for no apparent reason, in the year 296–295 B. C. Now it has been shown that Alexandrine coins continued to appear until about the time of Demetrius' final fall in 286–285 B. C. and

[1] Rouvier, *Rev. des Études Gr.*, 1899, pp. 362 ff. and *Rev. Num.*, 1909.
[2] Six, *loc. cit.*, p. 192.
[3] *Loc. cit.*, Introd. cxxx–cxxxi.

the acquisition of Tyre by Ptolemy. Of course, to Dr. Rouvier the date 296–5 B. C. seemed significant as he had adopted Droysen's theory (followed by Niese II, 125) that Seleucus I actually acquired Tyre in 295 B. C. But the recent writers, Theodore Reinach[1] and Tarn,[2] have shown this theory to be ill-founded and have proved that Demetrius held both Sidon and Tyre until his final fall. Hence the date of 296–5 for the cessation of the Tyrian didrachms means little. It is not necessary, however, to press this point as a definite reason for rejecting Rouvier's dating. A coinage of local types might well cease at any time without affecting the continued issue of pieces belonging to the "coinage of the realm." But the objection which cannot be emphasized too strongly against Rouvier's theory is the fact that, by adopting it, we must admit a coinage of local types some eight years preceding the appearance of an Alexandrine coinage — and this admission seems fatal.

According to M. Babelon's theory,[3] the dates on our Tyrian didrachms should be referred to the Seleucid era taking its inception in 312 B. C. By this the first year (23) would fall in 289–8 B. C., and the last (37) in 275–4 B. C. The objections to M. Babelon's theory are both numerous and vital, although Mr. Hill in his introduction to the British Museum Catalogue, pp. cxxx–cxxxi, seems inclined to accept it. In the first place it is exceedingly doubtful, and certainly it has not been proved, that the Seleucid era was ever used in Southern Phoenicia before the final conquest by Antiochus III in 200 B. C. Had this been done, it could only have been introduced by Seleucus I, and it is very doubtful if Seleucus ever held any portion of this district. It is absurd to believe that this era could ever have been introduced by either Demetrius or Ptolemy. In his *Perses Achémenides*, Introd. p. cxci, M. Babelon makes the entirely unsupported statement that Seleucus secured Tyre in 287 B. C., while later in his *Traité*, p. 627, he says that Tyre fell to Seleucus *en 294 au plus tôt* — this, probably to support his new theory as to the introduction of the series of dated Tyrian didrachms. Niese bases his assumption of Seleucus' presence in Phoenicia solely upon the attribution of certain coins to Accho,[4] Ascalon,[5] and Sidon,[6] all of which attributions are demonstrably erroneous.[7]

[1] Theodore Reinach, *Necrop. roy. à Sidon*, p. 383.

[2] Tarn, *Antigonus Gonatas*, p. 105; see also n. 33.

[3] *Les Perses Achémenides*, Introd., p. cxci and *Traité* II, 2, p. 627–8.

[4] Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, xxxv ff.

[5] Müller, *Numism. d'Alexandre le Gr.*, p. 309.

[6] Niese II, p. 125, note 8, refers to Babelon, *loc. cit.*, xxxvii, who there assigns a coin to Sidon on strength of a certain monogram in a wreath. This coin is certainly of Babylon; the monogram is identical with certain ones on coins which Imhoof-Blumer has long ago shown must be assigned to that city.

[7] With regard to the Accho coins of Seleucus, Hill, Brit. Mus. Cat. *Palestine*, Introd. p. lxxviii, n. 3, has already expressed his doubts. Müller's attribution of other coins of Seleucus to Ascalon are

Now assuming for the sake of argument that Seleucus at some period between 300 and 280 B. C. might have held Phoenicia, and that therefore the reckoning of years by the Seleucid era might conceivably have been introduced at this early date in Tyre, where would this assumption lead us? Directly onto the horns of a still more serious dilemma. For then we must suppose not only that Seleucus did not strike any of his own coins in Tyre,[1] but that the earliest of the Tyrian didrachms are then the only representatives of any coinage of his in this great emporium! Worse than this is the fact that a large portion of them would then have been struck under the succeeding Ptolemaic suzerainty (the last year 37 = 275–4 B. C., a date long after the final Lagid acquisition of the city). This hypothesis is utterly untenable. The Ptolemies, after the adoption by Soter in the year 305 B. C. of the so-called Phoenician weight-system and the eagle types, made it their constant policy to introduce this coinage wherever and whenever they chanced to secure a new province. Throughout their existence, they were forever combating the widely spread Attic weight-system, and endeavoring to substitute their own for it in their various conquests on the coasts of Thrace, Asia Minor, Cyprus, and Phoenicia. In all these districts they tolerated no other coinage system than their own. For the mint of Tyre, there have come down to us a prolific series of coins of the accepted Lagid type and weight (Svoronos, Nos. 626–704). Dr. Rouvier has clearly seen [2] that this great number of specimens and varieties must fill the entire extent of Soter's and Philadelphus' reign in that city. It is unthinkable, and would be a unique instance in the entire Ptolemaic numismatic history [3] if they had, even for an instant, tolerated a local issue of Tyre (the capital and commercial center of their Phoenician dominions) based on the Attic weight-system and running alongside of their own royal issues which were based on the Phoenician weight-system. It is inevitable that the mere introduction of a coinage based on the Egypto-Phoenician weight system would automatically bring about an immediate cessation of coins struck on the Attic weight-system.

As a final objection to the Seleucid era, it should be pointed out that

equally unfounded, being based upon his mistaken conception that the magistrate's letters in the field represent the initials of the city's name. Droysen, p. 258, while stating his belief that Seleucus secured Phoenicia, frankly admits (p. 258, note 2) that Plutarch does not say this, and that Pausanias I. 6-8, flatly contradicts it. He merely *infers* it, citing support for his contention only as far as Coele-Syria (including Judæa) is concerned — but this does not presuppose, by any means, that Phoenicia was included.

[1] At least, none have come down to us.

[2] *Rev. Num.*, 1909, pp. 340 ff.

[3] The Alexandrine tetradrachms, supposed by Svoronos to have been issued during Ptolemaic rule in that city, have been shown by the writer to have been far earlier. The same is true of the Sidonian Alexanders which Rouvier (*Rev. Num.*, 1909, p. 341) has proved to be much earlier also.

its adoption for the dates 23–37 on our didrachms would cause a serious discrepancy in styles and fabric. Whereas, with but one or two exceptions (here Plate III, Nos. 9, 10), the coins which Ptolemy II struck at Tyre are of fine style and neat manufacture, our Tyrian didrachms are quite the opposite. To suppose that their dies could have been cut by the same workmen, or the coins themselves struck in the same mint and at the same time as the coins illustrated by Svoronos, Plate XIX, Nos. 1–28, is manifestly absurd. There is absolutely nothing in common between the two series, a fact that would long ago have been recognized by the competent numismatists dealing with this subject, were it not that they were apparently blinded by their own preconceived theories.

Svoronos' theory [1] of the use of the so-called era of Ptolemy I, 311–310 B. C., for the dating of the Tyrian didrachms possesses the same serious objections as the Seleucid era, without presupposing a conquest of Southern Phoenicia by Seleucus I and the improbable introduction at this early date of his era. According to Svoronos' dating the year 23 would fall in 288–7 B. C., the year 37 in 275–4 B. C., thus bringing about the same insurmountable difficulty of a parallel issue under Ptolemy II of Attic didrachms and Phoenician tetradrachms, as well as an impossible mixture of styles and fabric. In fact, a manifest absurdity is here presupposed, namely, that it was under Ptolemy himself that an issue of Attic weight was commenced in the royal mint of Tyre!

Still more impossible is R. Dussaud's theory,[2] which has already been rejected by both Dr. Rouvier and Mr. Hill.[3] This theory would bring our didrachms down to the period 251–0 to 237–6 B. C. — a conclusion that is sufficiently refuted by the far earlier style of the coins themselves.

Thus we must face the fact that every one of the four eras definitely proposed and accepted by various students has one or more serious objections. There is another solution possible, and one which has the great advantage of avoiding *all* of the apparently fatal difficulties urged against the adoption of any one of the four eras discussed above. For we have at our disposal yet a fifth era, whose use is vouched for by abundant literary evidence.[4] It was actually proposed, only to be rejected, by Dr. Rouvier himself, who is[5] seemingly obsessed by his discovery of the use of the Alexander era at Sidon. The era by which our Tyrian didrachms must be dated is that of the death of Alexander the Great. This particular era is

[1] *Loc. cit.*, vol. iv, pp. 113 ff.
[2] *Rev. Num.*, 1908, p. 453.
[3] Brit. Mus. Cat., *Introd.*, p. cxxx; *Rev. Num.*, 1909.
[4] Censorinus, De die Natali, cxxi, 9, Ptolemy, Almagest, *passim.*
[5] *Rev. des Études Gr.*, 1899.

also known as that of Philip Arrhidæus. Its point of departure was generally considered to have been the 12th of Nov., 324 B. C.

In support of our proposal to adopt this era, let us look carefully at the facts available. In the first place, considerations of style and fabric would seem to show that groups A, B, and C form a continuous series of coins without the gap admitted by Rouvier,[1] who assigns A and B to 332–325 B. C., but C to 311–0 to 296–5 B. C. Now the entire series could not well have commenced *before there actually existed a mint at Tyre.* This we know was not until after 321–320 B. C. (see above, p. 1), possibly even later, for by their style the undated bronze coins struck at Ake for Tyre would seem to have come *after* the one bearing the date 26 (321–320 B. C.). Further, from the significant evidence of finds, we now know that the Tyrian Alexandrine coins could not have been struck much, if any, earlier than about 307–306 B. C. (see above, p. 11). If then — as on the very face of it seems exceedingly plausible — we should conclude that the series of Tyrian didrachms of Attic weight had not made its appearance until the actual commencement of the Alexandrine issues at Tyre, in and around the year 307 B. C., we might draw up the following scheme of their issue:

In the year		307 B. C.	appeared	||צ
"	"	" 306 B. C.	"	|||צ
"	"	" 305 B. C.	"	||||צ
"	"	" 304 B. C.	"	|מב and |מ
"	"	" 303 B. C.	"	||מ
"	"	" 302 B. C.	"	|||מ
"	"	" 301 B. C.	"	|||○

and so forth, to

Year 287 B. C.[2] \|\|\|\|\|ח○

The striking fact of this scheme is at once apparent. The Tyrian didrachms *exactly* cover what we have seen could only have been the period during which staters and tetradrachms bearing Alexander's types appeared at Tyre. In other words, the didrachms of Attic weight commence and also end with the only issue of staters and tetradrachms of Attic weight which are attributable to our mint at this time. The adoption of the era for the dating of group C of these didrachms takes place in 301 B. C. — the date of Antigonus' death and the accession of Demetrius. It was also at about this very time that there occurs a change in the inscription of the tetradrachms, most plausibly associated with the accession of Demetrius

[1] He, himself, says that this gap is impossible to explain.

[2] As the era here proposed commenced in November, each year ran from November to November. Hence, in our reckoning that year only which contained the greater number of the months is given.

(see above, p. 11). Historians have surmised [1] from their decrees and actions that Antigonus and his son Demetrius reckoned themselves as the direct successors to *Alexander* himself. The final adoption on Tyrian coins of an era dating from Alexander's death (that is, the commencement of the Antigonid dynasty) is therefore easily explainable. This era, together with the Attic weight-system of the coins themselves, comes to an end when Demetrius' Phoenician admiral, goes over with his fleets to Ptolemy. The acquisition of Sidon and Tyre by the latter is, of course, the immediate consequence of this defection. The date for this event has already been conjectured by Tarn [2] to have been 287 or 286 B. C. This date is largely confirmed by our latest didrachm which is dated 37, or between Nov. 288 and Nov. 287. In this year, or the following, Ptolemy secured Tyre, and commenced the issue (Plate III, 9, 10) of his tetradrachms of Egypto-Phoenician weights. One of the outstanding features of the new arrangement is that by it we no longer have an anomalous mixture of styles and fabric. In this regard our didrachms are the exact counterpart of the Tyrian Alexanders. We find the same increasingly poor workmanship, the same faulty striking and frequent cracking of the dies, the same hard, dry technique of the cutting. We also have for the two series the same interchange of die positions, now ↑, now ↓,[3] with once in a while eccentric positions. On the other hand, the die positions of the succeeding Ptolemaic issues is invariably ↑ [4].

As a result of the foregoing study, does it not now seem fairly certain that the Tyrian mint was not in active operation between the years 332 and 307 B. C.? By this time, however, the city itself had greatly recovered from the terrible blow dealt it by Alexander. Its fortifications had been repeatedly strengthened by both Ptolemy and Antigonus, so that Tyre had now become the strongest place on the entire Phoenician coast. It was but natural that Antigonus should have come to recognize in it a most valuable bulwark against Lagid aggression, as well as a most convenient base for his own contemplated operations against the kingdom on the Nile. For it is interesting to observe that both the evidence of finds and the dates borne by some of the coins themselves would seem to point to the year 307–306 B. C. as the date at which the Tyrian mint was re-opened. This fact may indeed be significant. For was it not in 307 B. C. that Antigonus commenced his plans for the attack upon Egypt? Towards the end

[1] Among others, Haussoulier, *Études sur l'histoire de Milet et du Didymeion*, p. 18.

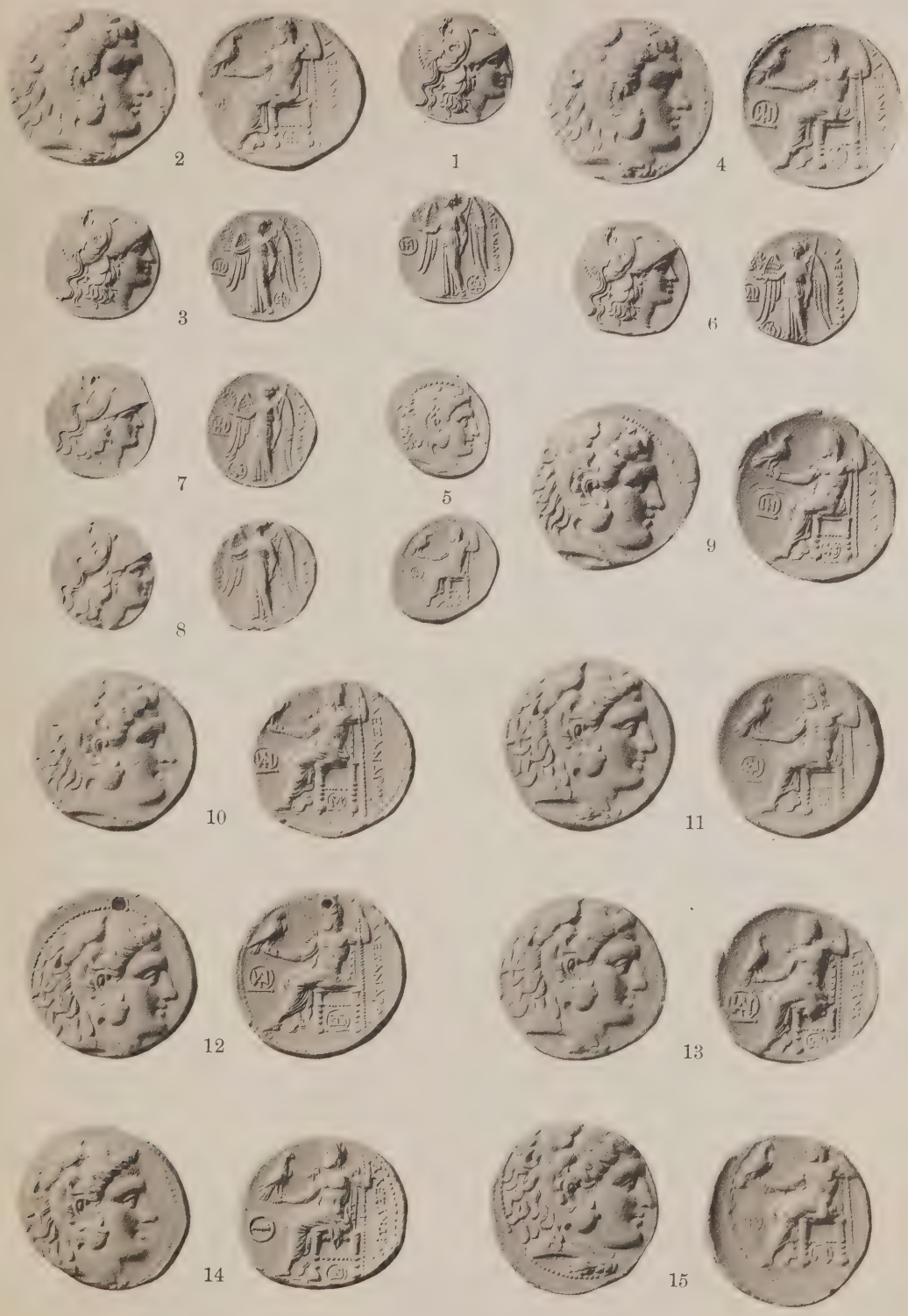
[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 104 ff. and notes.

[3] This position for the Tyrian didrachms, see B. M. C. *Phoenicia*, no. 42.

[4] At least is this true of the numerous specimens in American collections which have been inspected by the writer.

of that year orders had been sent to Demetrius in Greece to join his father in Syria. In the early spring of 306 he arrived with his fleet, defeated Ptolemy in the great sea fight off Salamis, and secured Cyprus as the first step in the plan. The remainder of summer was taken up in completing preparations, and with the autumn the advance against Egypt by sea and land was begun. Whatever may have been the ultimate outcome of the expedition, the fact remains that the great fortress of Tyre was the most obvious base for any contemplated operations against Ptolemy, as it was the most logical center of defense in case of disaster.

In Tyre, then, Antigonus probably concentrated all necessary supplies. As a strategic and commercial center of such vast importance, small wonder that he should also have re-established here an active mint to meet the pressing needs of both war and trade. The neighboring mints of Sidon and Ake were either actually abolished or merely quickly eclipsed. Apparently, to bind still further the new Tyre to his interests, Antigonus also granted the city the coveted privilege of striking a series of smaller denominations bearing purely local types, reminiscent of the city's former greatness and symbolic of her present revival. Both series were continued without interruption until the city finally fell to Ptolemy about 286–285 B. C. The latter, naturally, immediately abolished all issues based on the Attic weight system and substituted a coinage conforming in both types and weight with that of the remainder of his Empire.



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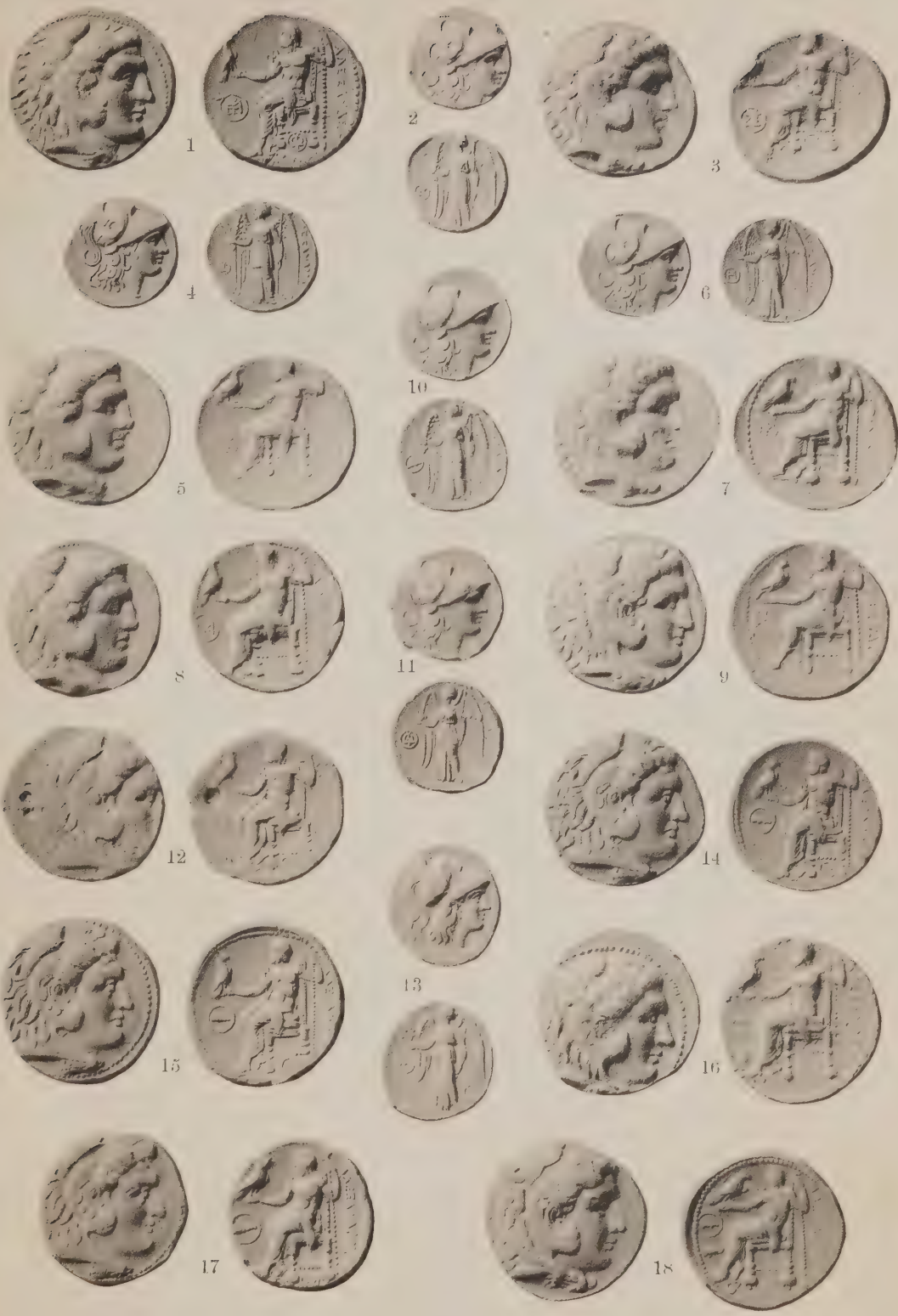

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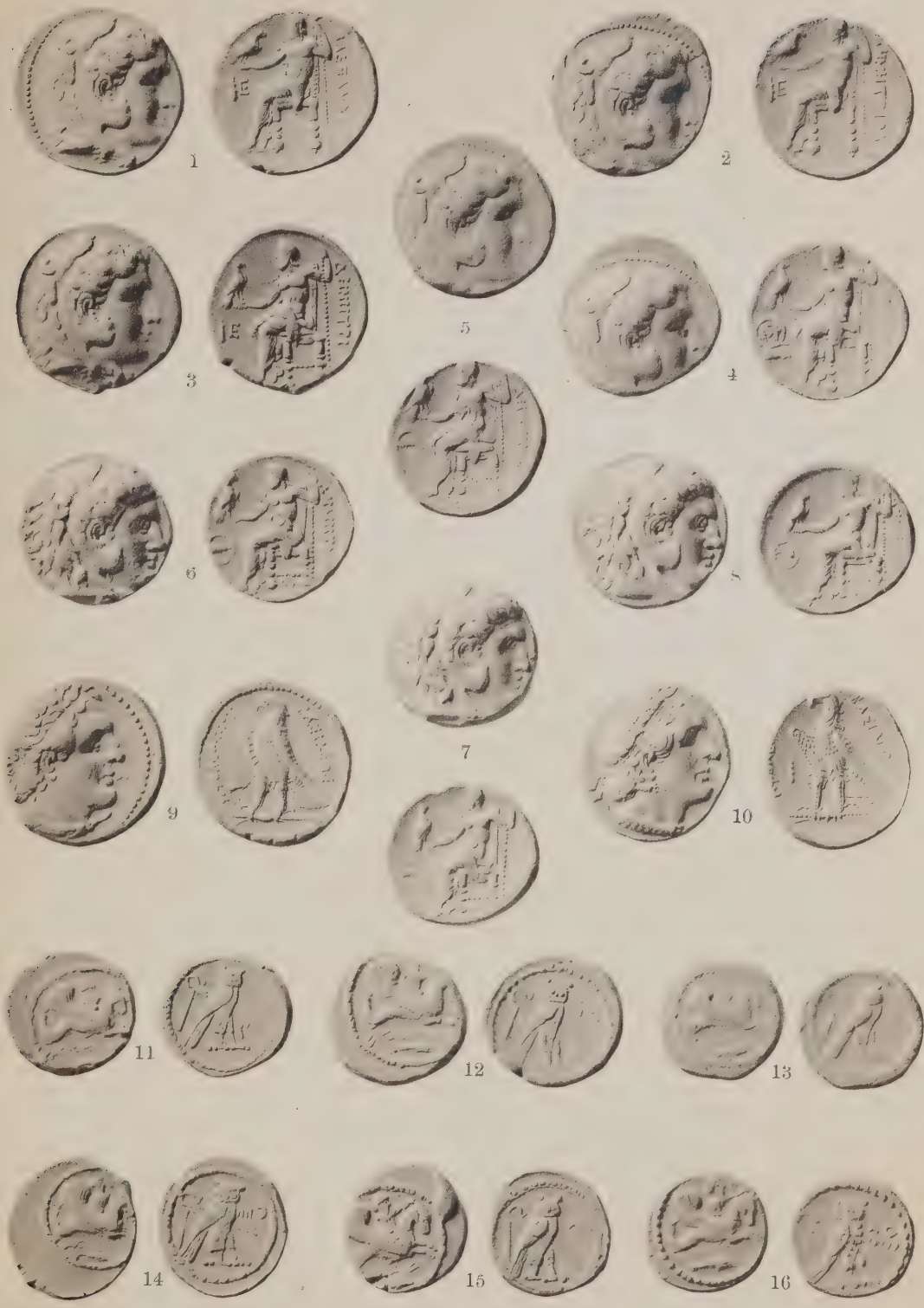

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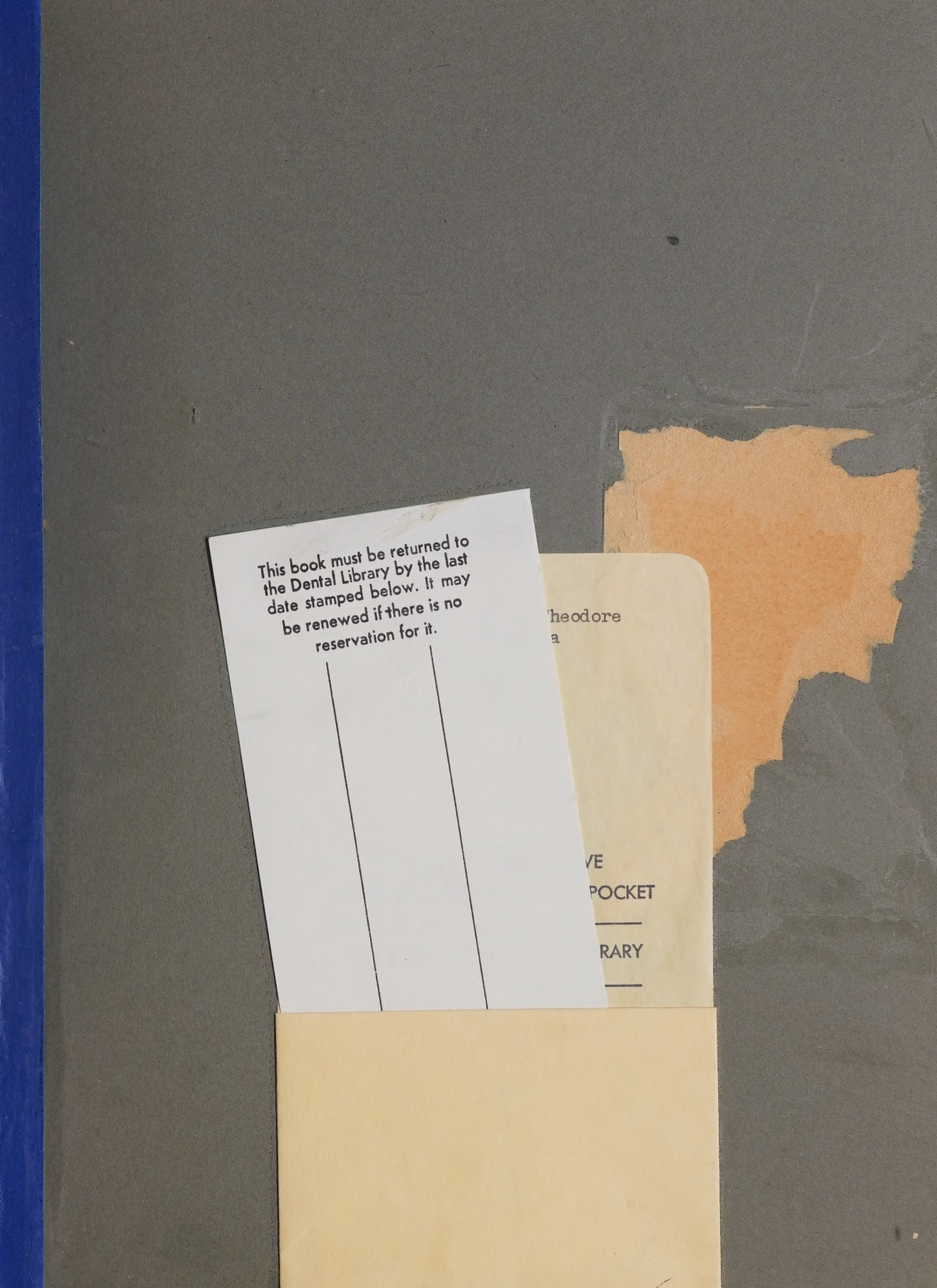
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